li Griffiths M-5. (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

361 boundaries. Such boundaries exist in theory, but are not always
[196] marked out.. The religious ceremonies which are supposed to take them into account just go round the outskirts of the village, paying no particular attention to supposed boundary points.

363 The ordinary Kol village is not a pretentious affair. There will be one or two central paths, three to ten feet wide and up to 200 yards long, which are the main streets and which the houses face. If the terrain permits, these paths usually run in a northerly-southerly
[364] direction and are often winding. Between the houses there are little lanes through which one may squeeze to get to the back of the village
[342] where the trash is thrown. The houses are made of *chatai* walls plastered with mud, or possibly of thick mud walls. The roof is usually of grass, but cheap country tiles are frequently employed. A two-storied house is unknown except in the larger towns where brick is used and some wealthy person resides. There is no street in the ordinary sense of the word and the lanes which provide the outlets for the
361 various houses are narrow, dirty and tortuous. The individual group may have two small buildings, one of which houses the cattle, though
[343 231] it is not unusual to find the cattle kept on the veranda. It is from such a village that the labourers go out to their fields which not in-
[241] frequently lie from two to three miles distant from the village. On the edge of most villages are seen a few meaner huts grouped together
621 and in these one usually finds the depressed and the untouchables.
●564 The fact is at once known by the pigs which are all about such houses.
735 Where Kols do not have their own village and are attached to some larger village or hamlet the two groups usually live on the edge; but the Kol, generally speaking, is more cleanly than the lower groups whose houses occasionally adjoin his dwelling place. When questioned why they live apart the answer has usually taken a three-fold form:
[262] It is claimed first that Hindus do not like to have Kols living near them because they (the Kols) eat meat and especially pork, which is consumed at the time of sacrifice. The next reason is an economic one: Kols are too poor to rent lands or pay the house rent required in the
[427] villages. One rupee a year is the maximum paid outside the village and sometimes nothing is required save a bit of help to the *malguzar* or landlord when he needs labourers in his fields. Kols also claim that if they live in close proximity to the higher castes they would not be free to sing and play the drum the whole night through, a thing which they consider necessary at certain times of worship.

184 342 351 LIVING CONDITIONS. There is a good deal of variation in the conditions under which the Kols live. In places where tenancy is

l:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

on the *sil* salt and some spices are usually added. The dough is then moulded by hand into cakes of various sizes which are fried in sweet (*til*) oil or in clarified butter. *Bara* is usually eaten in this form though occasionally, if curd is available, it is soaked in that until soft. 252

Dahi is a form of sour milk, though a particular strain of bacteria seems to be required. A bit of old *dahi* is put into the new milk which has been sweetened and to which possibly a little sliced green chili has been added. This is set aside until the *dahi* is formed.

Khir. This is made by boiling rice in milk over a slow fire. Sugar is added to sweeten. When the mixture becomes creamy, chopped cocoanut, pistachio, and *ilachi* seeds are added to taste.

Batasa. Sugar is boiled with water until there is a very thick syrup. This is poured into a cocoanut shell which has a small hole in the bottom through which the syrup may drip. This is allowed to drip on cloth or paper forming small balls of various sizes. The product turns out to be a small whitish ball, spongy and very sweet.

FOOD TABOOS. There are certain things which Kols never eat. The use of beef and carrion is universally tabooed. The latter is eaten only by outcastes, and beef is not taken in deference to their Hindu neighbours. It was noted that pork is among the foods used. In Hinduized centres it is no longer eaten as a regular dish, but it is still partaken of at festival times when a young pig may be offered to the goddess and ceremonially eaten. Nothing that creeps on the ground should be eaten. 262 [564] [178 782]

Among other animals which they never kill nor eat are found the names of the parrot, sparrow, crow, kite and *galgal* (*Acridotheres tristis*).

INTOXICANTS. There is evidence to show that the Kols are not so addicted to the use of intoxicants as they were in previous years. At times of religious ceremonies liquor is still used quite freely and no penalty is attached. In one centre we were informed that the *panchayat* fines any man who is caught drinking liquor, and that they had totally abolished its use in that village. In other places they were not so successful, and yet there was a standard penalty of Rs. 10 or a community feast, when, in the judgment of the *panch* the circumstances warranted it. 273 [184 623 681]

Contact with city life seems to increase the use of liquor; and Kol dwellers in Jubbulpore have distinctly less feeling against it and more often indulge in its use than do the people living in the village. [369]

As far as we could learn there was no record of the Kols resorting to the illicit distillation of intoxicants. When they need liquor for their [443]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

Chapter III

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE KOLS

564 [614] Within the Kol tribe there are numerous subdivisions which are generally called *kurhis*, and occasionally *gotras*, though there is no trace of any exogamous clans. On the whole these groups are endogamous although hypergamy is sometimes practised, especially when no suitable mate from the same *kurhi* is available. There are certain restrictions in connection with food, and members of one *kurhi* will usually not take food with those of another

When questioned about *kurhis* and their number the answer has invariably been, seven; but when asked to list the seven there has been a great variety of answers and no two sets have ever agreed.[1] There seems to be considerable confusion in the minds of the Kols themselves and there is apparently no standard list.

124 564 The Main Divisions or Kurhis. Investigations as to the number, kinds and nature of the *kurhis* were carried out in a number of centres. In general the procedure was to get a group of Kols together and during the talks ask them about the *kurhis* and their names. The findings have been tabulated in the order of frequency. Twenty-one groups were consulted and the number following the name is the number of times a particular group was given. It will be noted that only the Rautiya *kurhi* occurs in all cases.

Rautiya	21	Kulmangan	5
Thakuriya	18	Swasaha	4
Rautel	11	Bhumiya	4
Kurha	11	Murha	3
Binj	9	Gunj	3
Garhvariya	8	Kabitiya	2
Khangar	8	Narchhila	2
Kathautiya	7	Bhariya	1
Mawasi	6	Borowar	1
Kathariya	5	Maubhaiya	1
Khairwar	5	Pawai	1

In the light of these investigations a considerable boiling down

1 This same seven-fold classification occurs among other groups which actually have many more divisions. See for example G. W. Briggs' *The Chamars*, pp. 31, 32.

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

of this list is possible. When the list as a whole was presented to a large and representative Kol group it was asserted that certain of the names on this list were not true Kols; Khangar, Murha, Kabiriya, Khairwar and Narchhila were mentioned, but they did not know what to say about Binj and Gunj, and professed to have never heard about them. It was claimed that Rautel, Kurha, Kathautiya, Kathariya and Kulmangan were all forms of the Rautiya *kurhi*; they had heard of most of them, but had never actually seen all of them. Narchhila was said to be a group of Chamars. This confusion is no doubt due to the fact that other groups have been absorbed into the Kol community and have perpetuated names which are still current in spite of the mixture.

Of the twenty-two names collected from the Kols, Russell and Hiralal have only seven of their thirteen in common with ours. It is not unlikely that some of the names mentioned above are not actual Kols and in the following pages comments on each of the so-called *kurhis* will indicate certain conclusions. Rautiya Kols usually consider themselves the highest of the *kurhis*, although it was frequently noted that individuals from other groups also made the same claim.

William Crooke gives the following list of "endogamous septs", a list based on investigations in southern United Provinces and representing conditions about 1890, over fifty years ago.

1.	Rautiya or Rautele	
	Dahait or villagers	
	Mahtiyan or leader (These are subdivisions)	
2.	Thakuriya	.. "a lord"
3.	Banaj	..
4.	Pahariya	.. "mountaineer"
5.	Barwar	.. "descendant from the fig (bar) tree"
6.	Bin	.. (or Binds?)
7.	Harwariya	.. "ploughman"
8.	Rajwariya	.. (from Bengal Rajwars?)
9.	Hanriyanwa	.. "people of the cooking pot"[1]

An examination of this list and its comparison with the one which we obtained shows that there are some common divisions, while some of the others may also be identical. There is exact agreement in the case of the Rautiya and Thakuriya *kurhis*, though the subdivisions of the Rautiyas do not bear much resemblance. Barwar is probably the

1 Crooke, W., *Tribes and Castes of the North West Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. III., Article Kol.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

same as Borowar on our list; Bin and Binj are probably the same; and Harwariya may have become Garhwariya; the ploughman becoming the fortress-dweller.

Russell and Hiralal[1] state that they found the subcastes noted below, but their results appear to be based on materials gathered from the eastern edge of the Central Provinces. It will be noted that there are points of agreement and disagreement between their list and ours: Rautia, Rautele, Thakuriya, Kagwaria, Desaha, Bharia, Savar and Khairwar. They also include as "totemistic septs" the following: Bargaiyan, Kathotia, Katharia, Kumhra and Bhuwar.

1. *Rautiya.* This designation is believed to be derived from the word Rawat meaning "a prince," and as such may be traced to some ancient landholding or warrior group among the Kols in centuries past. This group claims to be the highest of the Kol *kurhis* and such assertions were usually not disputed by either Thakuriyas or others in joint group discussions; although on one or two occasions it was controverted as recorded under the Thakuriya (*vide p.* 41). Almost without exception the Rautiyas make use of the Brahmin priest at the time of wedding, and of the Hindu *nai* or barber, and the *dhobi* or washerman in certain ceremonies connected with birth and death. Not to do this would be to sin against social conventions; yet in one or two cases we were told that if a Rautiya is too poor to employ a Brahmin he might make other arrangements. This probably means that far back in their history they attended to such matters themselves, but have now become Hinduized and feel unable to act for themselves. Rautiyas made the claim that they move freely among Hindus and are recognized by them in a manner that other Kol *kurhis* are not. While the group is theoretically endogamous, hypergamy is occasionally practised with the Thakuriyas. This is probably a relic from the time when intermarriage was common, but the process of Hinduization has now stabilized the *kurhis*. They admit that if necessary Thakuriya girls may be married to Rautiya boys, but deny that they ever give their girls in marriages to Thakuriyas. If a *swasaka* Rautiya—those whom perform marriage without the help of a Brahmin—has an eligible son they would give their daughter to him in marriage only if it is agreed that the Brahmin priest and the *nai*, will officiate in the regular way.

Rautiyas have a very definite taboo in the case of the horse. Horse manure is absolutely forbidden to be touched. There are several curious stories that came to our attention. One of them is that in the dim ages past Bhagawan gave the Kols the gift of a horse. In a few

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, Article Kol.

l:Griffiths M-5 (ca.1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

days it grew to be so tall that no Kol could mount it. They did not know what to do, and the only thing that they could think of (being jungle people) was to take an axe and shorten its legs. This they were about to do when the horse disappeared. A variant story of the above is that the horse given by Bhagawan had a peculiar power which made it impossible for Kols to ride upon it. At one moment it would be so small that it would run right out from under the man who was riding it, leaving him standing in the way; on other occasions it became so tall that no one could climb upon it. Once, when it was in the latter form, a Kol in desperation took his axe and started to cut short the legs of the horse, but before he could actually do this it was snatched away by Bhagawan. Since then Kols have never used horses, for they were "deceived" by Bhagawan. They claim that they will never touch the dung of the horse, "not even if we are beaten." They have no taboos in the case of cow dung.

The Bharias, a tribe of cultivators, probably Mundas, found mostly in Jubbulpore district have a similar story which is recorded by Russell and Hiralal as follows:

> They have an aversion for the horse and will not remove its dung. To account for this they tell a story to the effect that in the beginning God gave them a horse to ride and fight upon. But they did not know how to mount the horse because it was so high. The wisest man among them proposed to cut notches in the side of the animal by which they could climb up, and this they did. But God, when he saw it, was very angry with them, and ordered that they should never be soldiers, but should be given a winnowing fan and broom to sweep the grain out of the grass and make their livelihood in that way.[1]

Some Rautiyas also have a taboo against the use of mattresses or quilts made from pieces of old clothes. They also seem to have a very definite taboo against the use of gold as an ornament, although it was often stated that this custom is passing away. It is not that they cannot *touch* gold, for this they may do, but they should not wear it on their persons. The reason for this goes back to Sheori the mother of Kols who would never touch gold. They now consider that this was probably a mistake on her part and that Bhagawan does not mean that Kols should avoid its use. This taboo is not observed by most of this Rautiya women, who use gold if they can afford it.

In the course of our investigations it became apparent that other

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 280.

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

564 sub-groups are recognised within the Rautiya *kurhi*. These are often listed as entirely separate from Rautiyas, but when those conversant with such matters were pressed, it was found that these are really sub-groups of the Rautiya. The sub-groups are:

1a. *Rautel*. This group appears in eleven of the twenty-one lists as a genuine Kol *kurhi*. Further study has revealed that this name is used rather loosely and that there is really very little difference between the Rautels and the Rautiyas. In Maihar State groups calling themselves Rautel claimed that they practise hypergamy with Rantiyas and Thakuriyas; but this occurs only if suitable Rautel girls are not available for marriage. The groups in Maihar State claimed that they are the highest class of Kols, as a Brahmin priest always officiates in their wedding ceremonies, while the Rautiyas do not always observe this essential. It came out in the same discussions that Rautels eat off [264 415] an earthen dish known as the *kurha*, and that they are thus probably identical with the sub-group of Rautiyas known as Kurhas. A Kathautiya Kol later confirmed this interpretation. This same informant said that his group used to practise hypergamy with Kurhas, [114] but that now there are no restrictions, and in most places either can take or give their girls in marriage without hindrance. This opinion, however, was found to be inconsistent with enquiries in other centres.

1b. *Kurha*. The Kurha is definitely a Rautiya of a particular [614] kind, and might be considered a "totemistic sept". This group is expected to do all its eating off black earthenware vessels known as *kurhas*. These are not made by Kols themselves, but are bought from members of the potter caste, the Kumhars. The following stories were noted in regard to their origin.

[415 264]

The earthenware kūṇā
This is the dish from which the Rāṇā's food is eaten.

Fig. 17

564 713 Once upon a time there were two brothers who were orphaned of their father and brought up by their mother. After a time the old mother died and the two sons were forced to go out into the world and earn their own living. Following quite a long period of separation they happened to meet, and each enquired after the work and welfare of the other. The younger related how he was working for a certain master and how this master had fed him from a *kurha* made by a Kumhar. Then after becoming independent of his master he told how he had continued to use that type of dish. The elder brother was much annoyed at this and told his younger brother that they could no longer associate nor eat together because of this practice.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

This led to a separation between the brothers and they formed two divisions of the same family. The elder brother was the head of the family of Rautiya Kols and the younger of the Kurha Kols. 564 773

Another story relates that there were once five brothers of the same *kurhi*. Due to lack of food they were forced to separate: one went to the Binj mountains and founded the Binj *kurhi*; another went to a Thakuriya house, found shelter there, and from him are descended the Thakuriya Kols; another who took refuge with the Kumhars, the potters, was the ancestor of the Kurha sept. It is not unlikely that these stories contain the truth that this *kurhi* may have arisen from some marriage with Kumhars or perhaps miscegenation with them, or it may have reference to some occupational adventure on the part of some Kols.

Apparently the use of an earthen vessel by one sub-group does not prevent marriage within the whole group, nor does it limit it to that group, for marriages are possible between them and the Kathautiya Rautiyas who use wooden vessels from which to eat. There is the restriction, though, that Kurhas and Kathautiyas should not eat together unless they are related by marriage, and when this is the case they may compromise by the use of the ordinary brass plate. In a certain centre we were told that the only "pure Rautiyas" were those who used the *kurha* and that there were also definite marriage restrictions between them and the users of the wooden bowl. This, if ever true, is disappearing. 564 [264]

10. *Kathautiya*. Evidence goes to show that this *kurhi* is also a sub-group of the Rautiyas and differs from the Kurhas in that its members eat from a wooden bowl, called *kathauta* or *kathoia*. The women folk, and occasionally the men, wear bits of wood in the lobes of their ears. During childhood the hole in the lobe is enlarged by the insertion of fibres from weeds, and from time to time a new bit is inserted in the attempt to enlarge the hole. We did not find that the Kathautiya Kols were consistent in the use of the wooden dish. At Sihora they told us that while they were Kathautiyas they had nevertheless given up the use of the *kathauta* and had adopted the ordinary brass plate. In other centres, notably one near Katni, they still use the bowl and cling to the custom tenaciously. As far as possible, they declared, all food should be prepared in wooden vessels, and it is expected that they should eat their food from such vessels. They do not manufacture their own *kathautas*, nor is any particular kind of wood used, but the dishes are made by Hindu carpenters from such wood as is available. At the time of death or eclipse of sun or moon the Kurha Kols must throw out all their earthenware dishes; the [415 264] [304 301] [178] [184] [252] [439] [82] [768 415]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

564 Kathautiyas also throw out their earthenware vessels, but not the wooden ones which are considered to be unaffected by these occurrences. This may be due to Hindu influences.

It was intimated that hypergamy is occasionally practised with the Thakuriyas but in such cases it appears that the girls are "kept" rather than "married". One group of Kathautiyas asserted their superiority over the Thakuriyas and claimed that if a Thakuriya girl came to live with a Kathautiya boy, the Thakuriyas could take her back; but that they would never take back one of their girls who went to live with the Thakuriyas.

Some Kols stated that Binj, Kathariya and Kulmangans are types of Rautiya Kols, but the best evidence appears to be otherwise and these groups are treated separately below.

101 171 564 The use of the word "Rautiya" is not confined to the Kols. There is a Munda tribe in Chota Nagpur called Rautiyas and a few members of this tribe are found in the Jashpur State of the Central Provinces. It is also the name of a subcaste of Dahait, a mixed caste of village watchmen of the Jubbulpore and Mandla districts, and several of their subcaste names bear a close resemblance to those of the Kols. It is also a sub-caste of the Kawars and of a section of the Chamars and Rawats (Ahir).[1] The other subgroups of Rautiyas as noted above were not in use elsewhere except that among the Darzis, or tailors there is a Kathautiya subdivision.[2]

2. *Thakuriyas.* Russell and Hiralal[3] are of the opinion 564 773 that this word is derived from *thakur* meaning "a lord", and they trace this *kurhi* to the intermarriage of Rajput males with Kol females. Such intermarriage probably followed the gradual penetration of the Rajputs into the regions occupied by the Kols. The stories given below concerning the origin of the Thakuriyas probably reflect a long period in which there was a considerable mixture of blood.

According to one story a certain Rautiya Kol had two wives who often quarrelled and the husband saw fit to scold the elder of the two. As a result she left the protection of the Kol and in anger went to the house of the *malgusar* of the village who happened to be a Thakur. She began to live on the veranda of his house, and earned her food with her own hands in any way she could. After some months she gave birth to a son and the Thakur sent word to this effect to her husband, with the request that he should come and take the mother and child

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 402.
2 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 376.
3 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 509.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE XII.

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Dhunka of Garha - a Rautiya Kol.

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302
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A Kathauta Rautiya with the wooden bowl from which they must eat. Near Karni.

[facing p. 38]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

back to his home. When the Kol received the news he denied that the son was his and claimed that the Thakur was the real father. In the end the Thakur kept the child and when he grew up the boy was married, and his descendants make up the Thakuriya Kols.

Another story is that there were once two sisters Shivari and Sudama. Shivari was the elder. Sudama entered the house of a Thakur and conceived a child by him and her descendants are called the Thakuriyas. Shivari's children became the Rautiyas.

There is also a much longer story current which involves a battle with the Ahirs.[1] Once there lived at Pipari, south of the Ganges river near the river Belam, an old Kol named Makhara Dudjh. He had a very beautiful wife named Chandwa. They had five daughters, four of whom were married without difficulty. Many Ahirs lived some distance from the Kols in a village called Gaura, and the two groups were on good terms and often ate together. This gave the opportunity to an Ahir named Loharik to elope with Chandwa. The Kols were much angered at this breach of hospitality and a group of three hundred and sixty of them armed with guns, swords and spears set out after the Ahirs and defeated them, but could not locate Chandwa. In the course of time Loharik Ahir and Chandwa Kol had a son called Bhorik. After a few years Loharik remarked to his brother Samar that the Kols were getting too powerful and should be destroyed, and that they had better play a trick and thus eliminate them. A marriage was arranged between Bhorik and an Ahir girl and the Kols were invited. The Ahirs had five or six great jars of liquor ready for the wedding feast. The three hundred and sixty Kols came with all their arms to the village of Gaura. Loharik Ahir stood before Makhara Dudjh with folded hands and respectfully asked him to have all the implements of warfare put into a room and locked so that at the time of drinking no incidents might occur. The Kols foolishly trusted him and their weapons were locked away. The Ahirs had been warned not to take a second drink, but rather to feign drunkenness after the first drink. Before long the Kols were too drunk to fight and the Ahirs quickly killed all of them.

Now Makhara Dudjh had a younger brother named Devasi who was blind and hence had to live by begging. His sister cared for him

1 In the *Census of India*, 1931 1:3 p. 3 64, it is related that "The Abhiras, from whom the modern Ahirs are said to have descended were a widespread people.....The Abhiras were in the North-west Frontier Province before the Christian era. In the third century A.D. they were in lower Sind and North Gujarat and next they appear to have passed down the Tapti valley into Khandesh." Possibly these Kol stories go back to 250 A.D. and to the struggles with the Abhiras for the possession of the land. Later material is mixed up, as the Thakuriyas are also brought into the story.

564 773 [174]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE XIV.

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Jagdeo - a Thakuriya Kol.

Bharosa and Nunhu - Thakuriya Kols.

[Facing p. 39]

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

564 773 and led him wherever he went. He always had a bow and some arrows with him, as he was also a mighty shooter. As they were out begging they met a Brahmin female beggar who had just been to Gaura, the Ahir village, and had learned of the slaughter of the Kols. When the blind Devasi heard of this he said to his sister: "Sister, why should we live any longer when all our friends are dead? Let us now go to Gaura village and as we approach it tell me carefully where the two Ahir leaders are sitting so that I may shoot them." When they were within a mile of the village she spied them standing before the village and ready to give battle. The two halted and the sister carefully observed all that was going on. At last the two brothers turned their faces toward the blind archer and his sister. She told him that all was ready and handed him two arrows and then set his face toward the brothers. His aim was so exact that he shot the arrows right into the eyes of the two brothers and both fell down dead. Devasi's strength was so great that the bow almost broke when it was bent. The Ahirs were astounded at this mighty feat and wondered who did this. In their estimation Devasi was a mighty Kol and in terror they deserted the village. The blind Kol and his sister then took possession of the village and drove the 360 head of cattle therein back to their own village. They found some children whom they brought along, and when they grew up they intermarried with the Kols and the offspring of this union were called Thakuriyas.

The last part of the story does not seem to fit into the tale as a whole and the Ahir story may refer to some event other than that of the formation of the Thakuriyas. There is a section of the Ahirs called Thakurs and there may be some connection at this point. Russell and Hiralal also cite the belief that the Abhiras, the ancestors in part of the modern Ahirs, came into India from Central Asia about the time of Christ.[1] To-day they are a much mixed race.

564 784 184 It was ascertained that the Thakuriyas do not have the Rautiya taboo against the horse; that they can make mattresses and can even sit on those made by Kathariyas, and that they have no feeling against the use of gold as ornaments. In fact it is believed that a Thakuriya cannot carry out a wedding without the use of gold and that the parents of the bride should at least see some gold about the bridegroom's neck. If the bride can also wear it, so much the better.

564 262 One informant said that Thakuriya men occasionally eat chicken and pork, but that their women-folk never eat them. They do not object to eating with other *kurkis*, and while they cannot take Rautiya girls in marriage, they can marry their daughters to them.

1 *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 19.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

When a number of Thakuriyas were asked which *kurhi* is the highest they responded as follows : "Judge for yourselves, the Rautiyas both eat and keep chickens and pigs, but we never touch them. Should a pig stray into one of our houses we have to clean and purify everything and also ourselves. We may eat pork, but always *outside* of our houses and before we can enter them again we must bathe. Our women never eat such meat. So judge for yourselves which is the better group."

3. *Binj*. This name is derived from the Binj hills, the modern Vindhyan range which cuts across the Indian peninsula. At Sihora we were assured that Rautiya and Binj were identical, but apart from this dissenting view this division was generally accepted as a separate *kurhi*. The Binj were usually said to be the highest of all the Kol groups yet no one that we interviewed had actually seen a Binj Kol. They had heard that there was a Binj *Raja* in Rajputana to the north-west, but where he lived now they did not know. They may be related to a Binjhwar tribe in the Central Provinces called "a comparatively civilized Dravidian tribe, or caste formed from a tribe."[1] It is now established that they are one of the subdivisions of the Baigas.[2] They also trace their ancestry back to the Vindhya hills.

The following account was given to us of the Binj Kols : A Thakur or Rajput, fell in love with a Kol woman and the couple ran away together and sought refuge in the Binj mountains. A son was born to them who was named "Binj" after the mountains ; this boy stayed in the hills and was the forefather of the Binj *kurhi*. Other children born to the couple returned with their parents to their old home and gave rise to the Thakuriyas. The Binjes and the Thakuriyas are thus closely linked.

Another story is that a Kol woman became pregnant and gave birth to a son far away in the jungles. Being unable to care for the child she was forced to leave it there. Before long a tiger came across the hapless infant and took it to his den and looked after it. The child grew and lived in the jungle with the tiger and was called Binjhwar. The lad was very intelligent and proved to be a fine hunter and brought the tiger his daily food. When he was old enough to be married the tiger decided that he ought to find the boy a wife, but he was unable to decide how to manage it. One day by chance a Raja's wedding party accompanying the bride-to-be was passing through that very jungle. The tiger saw his chance and frightened the men

1 *Ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 239.
2 Elwin, V., *The Baigas*, p. 5 ff.

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

564 773 so badly that they dropped the *palki* in which the girl was being carried, and ran away as fast as they could. The poor girl was at the mercy of the tiger, who brought her to the boy, and gave her to him to be his wife. The tiger then released the boy from his forest life and together the new couple left the jungle and went to Sheori who was the boy's relative, as his mother belonged to Sheori's family. The offspring of this couple became the Binj Kols.

These two stories do not even make the same point but both probably preserve certain traditions: one of a connection with the Binj mountains and the other of some inter-marriage with jungle Baigas or Binjhwars.

564 554 4. *Khangar.* There is a distinct group of village watchmen and field labourers of low caste called by this name and found mostly in northern central India and in the United Provinces. The name is said to be derived from the words *khand*, a pit, and *gar*, a maker or digger; because the Khangar digs holes in other peoples' houses for the purpose of theft. According to another account the name is derived from *khadgahar* meaning a Kshatriya or warrior, who earns his livelihood by means of a *khadga*, or sword.

177 793 554 583 85 171 With regard to Kol Khangars we were told that they were *swasahas*, not making use of Brahmins or other Hindus in social events, such as marriage. They are considered low on the social scale and Rautiyas always avoid them. If a Rautiya girl elopes with a Khangar she can never be received back, and the offspring are Khangars. In Chota Nagpur there is a Khangar tribe which is a branch of the Munda group. The following story is told of their origin:

> Two Munda brothers were travelling with their wives from one place to another. One of the brothers and his wife preceded the other brother in the country. On the way, the former brother's wife was brought to bed of a child. While leaving the place the Munda couple buried the placenta etc., in the hearth which they had improvised at their temporary lodging. Soon afterwards, the other brother came up there with his wife. On opening up the hearth he discovered the placenta etc., buried there and thought that his brother had bagged some game and left a portion of the meat for him to cook and eat. And so the couple unsuspectingly ate the unclean meat. When the brothers met, and the truth was known, the brother who had eaten the unclean meat was excommunicated and his descendants became Khangars.[1]

1 Roy, S. C., *The Mundas and Their Country*, p. 401.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

The Khangars of Central India have a tradition akin to the one related of the Thakuriyas, of a slaughter by a Bundela Rajput after they were made drunk.[1] This may be an altogether different story but probably belongs to the same period when the Rajputs came into Bundelkhand. No first-hand accounts were obtained by us which would shed any light on the origin of this *kurhi*.

5. *Garhvariya*. While this name occurs eight times in the list of Kol subdivisions nevertheless we found only one living specimen in spite of the fact that there were said to be many of this group around Jubbulpore. This particular Garhvariya came to us in a group of Thakuriyas and Rautiyas and was the butt of their jokes. He was short and dark and had a very flat nose, much broader than is usual with Kols. The other *kurhis* said to his face that they would have nothing to do with him socially. When asked about himself he said that he was a Rautiya who had the misfortune to be born out of Rewa State and hence was called a Garhvariya. The other Kols present would not agree that this was the real situation. Garhvariyas are considered unclean and no other sept will take their girls or give them their own daughters in marriage. They are mainly employed as field labourers. It is not unlikely that we met others, but they would not admit that they were Garhvariyas.

6. *Mawasi*. Very little was to be ascertained from the Kols about this group. They seem to be a very "low" *kurhi*, and do not even call in a Chamarin to act as midwife and cut the cord of the newly born infant, doing such work with their own hands. They are so low that no social intercourse is possible with Kols like Rautiyas and Thakuriyas. They are considered the most despised of all the Kols and "live just like Basors who are outcastes and make baskets and keep pigs."

The Munda tribe known as the Korkus and found in the Satpura hills of south central India are sometimes called Mowasis.[2] Regarding Korkus Russell and Hiralal state that the sept names of the Korkus are in many cases identical with those of the Kols and Korwas, which may mean that they are an offshoot of "the great Kol or Munda" tribe. The word "Mowasi" has reference to the largest of their subdivisions but its derivation is uncertain. The Census Report for the Central India Agency says : "The Mawasis were reputed to be a fighting section of the Kols."[3]

7. *Kathariya*. This *kurhi* takes its name from *kathri*, a mattress

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. iii, p. 439.
2 *Ibid.* Vol. iii, p. 550.
3 *Census of India*, 1931, xx: 1, p. 237,

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

564 or quilt which they make from their own worn-out clothes or even from the cast-off clothes of others. These quilts and mattresses are 513 used in place of blankets and other forms of bedding usually found in [784] villages, and present a ragged sight when taken out in the sun to air. The Rautiya Kols have a taboo for the Kathariya mattress. Rautiya [554] Kols generally despise this *kurhi* because they do menial work, but this cannot be the main reason.

114 All the evidence that we were able to collect indicates that 513 Russell and Hiralal are incorrect in their conclusions regarding the 564 Kathariyas having the mattress as their totem. They say: "A member of this sept (Katharia) must never have a mattress in his house nor wear clothes sewn in cross-pieces as mattresses are sewn. The word *kathri* should never be mentioned before him as he thinks some great misfortune would thereby happen to his family, but this belief is falling into abeyance."[1] The actual facts which we have carefully checked seem to be the exact opposite.

8. *Khairwar.* This is probably the same as a group in Chota 564 Nagpur known under the slightly different name of Kharias. In the year 1937 Sarat Chandra Roy[2] published in two volumes a complete and comprehensive study of this important group. The Khairwars in the Central Provinces seem to be a mixture of jungle tribes and are often confused with the Gonds. Russell and Hiralal say that the most probable derivation of the name is from the *khair* or catechu tree (*Acacia catechu*) from which catechu, "any one of the several dry, earthy, or resinlike, astringent substances got from certain tropical plants and used in tanning and dyeing" is manufactured. We were [314] given this same information: this group is called Khairwars because its members make *khair*. They are also said to be a low type of Kol and this work is despised as a profession for now-a-days it is done [554] only by primitive jungle-dwellers. It is not unlikely that a group of Kols at one time were active in preparing *khair* and so received this name, but it is more probable that they are somehow related to the Kharias of Chota Nagpur.

9. *Kulmangan.* This is another of the so-called lower types of Kols, the name being derived from *mangna*, "to ask." It appears [735] that during the time of birth, marriage, death, or special religious functions, members of this *kurhi*, if such it may be called, make it a practice to ask alms from Kols. On certain occasions they are said to [534] play the *sarangi*—a one-stringed musical instrument. There is no

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III. p. 510, see also Vol. I, p. 91.
2 *The Kharias.*

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

possibility of marriage with higher Kol groups. It is not at all unlikely that the name is not the title of a *kurhi*, but rather of a type of Kol who, though he may belong to any *kurhi*, uses the above occasions for making a little extra money. One informant assured us that Kulmangans were really Rautiyas.

10. *Swasaha*. The word probably is a corruption of *swastha*, meaning self-reliant, independent. When the word is applied to Kols the inference is that they do not follow the Hinduized customs of most of their tribe in regard to the calling in of the Brahmin priest, the *nai*, and the *dhobi*. All these matters are cared for by some member of their own community, usually one of the elderly persons. We came across one who claimed to be a Swasaha, but as a group they were never found. Some evidence was found which would indicate that this is not a distinct *kurhi*, but is rather something remaining from earlier times. If any family or group is independent of the *pandit*, *nai* or *dhobi* in weddings and the like, they may be called Swasahas. We found evidence which leads us to believe that there are Swasaha Rautiyas. The lower *kurhis* are probably mostly of the *swasaha* type. Nevertheless most of the Kols believe and claim that this is a distinct *kurhi*.

11. *Bhumiya*. The word literally means 'born from the land' or 'aboriginal.' It is also a title of the Bharias, a Munda tribe residing in large numbers in the Jubbulpore district. At present the Bharias are usually associated with the Gonds and are probably very much intermixed with them as the number of names and sub-divisions would indicate. We were unable to elicit any definite information from the Kols about this *kurhi* save that Bhumiyas may sleep either on beds or on the ground. This same title is also found among the Baigas and the Korkus, and the Gonds have a subdivision of this name. Bhumiya and Bhuiya are synonyms.

In connection with the Kols the name may have arisen as a nickname, or a title given to Kols who held land. Certain tribes and some Hindus are said to employ the term Bhuiya as the equivalent for *Zamindar*.[1] There are thus Bhumiyas by tribe and also by title. Roy has written a book on the Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa.[2] They are also Mundas and in view of this fact it is not strange that some Kols should either bear the title of Bhumiya or belong to the Bhumiya *kurhi*. A Bhuiya subcaste bears the name of Rautadi, which is not far removed from Rautiya.

12. *Murha*. Russell and Hiralal state that this is a caste of

1 *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 205.
2 Roy, S. C., *The Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa*, 1935.

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564 [161] navvies and labourers found in Jubbulpore and adjoining districts and numbering about 1,500 persons only. They are connected by some writers with the Bind tribe of northern India and Bengal, but it is more likely that in Central India they are recruited largely from the Kol group. "In Mandla some Murhas seem to be Kols."[1] This caste is [332] employed in all kinds of earthwork, such as building walls, excavating trenches and making embankments for large tanks or for the rice fields. We found that similar work is being done by Kols all over Central India. At Barela there is a large tank covering several acres [312] and called 'Murhai.' Local Kols told us that it was so named because it was dug by Murha Kols many years ago.

13. *Gunj*. Russell and Hiralal not mentioned any group of this name. The 1931 Census has a "Gunjwar" in a long list of tribes and castes, but calls it "Unclassified." It was claimed that the Gunj *kurhi* originally lived in the west and came from thence into Central India. No one interrogated concerning this matter had even met a member of this *kurhi*. It is not unlikely that the name may be a variant of Binj, although one group included both in their list of Kol *kurhis*.

564 794 14. *Kabiriya*. The word means 'follower of Kabir' and is probably basically a religious group. Kabir was brought up in the home of a Mohammedan weaver (*Julaha*), but through Ramananda came into touch with the theistic and *bhakti* type of faith proclaimed by Ramanuja. He was half-Hindu and half-Moslem and is revered by both. George Weston Briggs notes: "The real importance of Kabir rests in the enormous influence which he has exercised upon subsequent religious thinking, especially as it has affected the masses, because of his use of the vernacular. His attitude toward caste drew to himself a large following from the lower levels of society."[2] This designation on the part of the Kols shows that Kabir's influence had reached them, but the name may have some occupational significance. Kabir was a weaver and two weaver groups in Central Provinces, the Koris and the Koshtis have Kabiriya subgroups.

564 [844] 15. *Narchhila*. The name means literally "a cord cutter" and refers to the cutting of the umbilical cord at childbirth. It was stated that the *kurhi* is given the name because it does not call in a midwife from a low Hindu caste to cut the umbilical cord (*nara*) of the new-born child. It seems more likely that this is a general term, as in the case of the Swasahas, for a family in any one of the groups who for

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 253.
2 Briggs, G. W., *The Chamars*, p. 204.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

some reason or other do not call in a low caste midwife. It was also reported that this group does not make any use of the Hindu priest and is very low in the social scale. Some claimed that this is really a group of Chamars—leather workers in the traditional sense, but Russell and Hiralal do not mention it in their glossary of caste divisions nor does Briggs report it. It is probably of minor significance.

16. *Bhariya* is the same as Bhumiya, see above.

17. *Borowar* does not appear in Russell and Hiralal nor in the list of tribe and caste responses in the 1931 Census. Nor is Barwar found there. Barwar, said to mean "disciple of the *bar* or banyan tree" (*Ficus indica*), is listed among the septs of the Kols in the north by Crooke as was seen in the previous note[1] on his findings. In a later book Crooke speaks of Barwars as a criminal tribe of Oudh.[2]

18. *Pawai*. One group gave the information that this *kurhi* lived in the south, 'Chawhan Khand'. In Singhbhum, Bengal, the Bhuiyas call themselves *Pawan-bans* meaning 'children of the wind'. The Bhuiya highlands are called Pawri Desh.[3] This may indicate a memory of a connection now long lost.

19. *Maubhaiya*. No trace nor information concerning this group could be found. It was reported only once.

The Census of 1891 attempted to record the names of subdivisions of castes in some detail, and the resultant list contained thousands of names of every kind. The Ahir alone had over 1,700 entries. The subdivisions of the Kols manifest the same tendency and show that the groups have absorbed into themselves members from higher and lower castes. The Thakuriyas probably contain a Rajput element and at the other end we find Kols mixed with Khangars, Murhas, Khairwars and Chamars. The Kols of today are probably pretty well mixed with other groups.

MAINTENANCE OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE. Kols who live in close contact with city life have frequently lost the sense of social solidarity which characterizes the Kols living under more primitive conditions. Various factors in city life, or near-city life, tend to make the same rigid social order impossible, and yet even under these conditions there is an attempt to maintain something of the older traditions.

Almost every village has an elderly man who may be considered in a sense the head-man of the community. He is usually called *Mahata* or literally, the leader. This man is the natural head of the

1 See page 33.
2 Crooke, W., *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 166.
3 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 315.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

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give your opinion whether you are agreeable to social intercourse with the Kumhars.

This letter should be circulated in the following villages :

1. Kharara Ghat : the whole *panch*, Sahmat, Dhannu, Sunnu.
2. Bargaon : the whole *panch*.
3. Matawar Do.
4. Bharda Do.
5. Panagar Do.
6. Usmer Mohniya.
7. Jatma.

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This letter, without naming the offenders, is a complaint that somewhere in this particular Kol community social intercourse with the potter caste has been allowed without penalty. The Kumhars are among the lowest untouchables and no Kol should eat or drink with them. The *panch* of that particular village was so lax that the matter even went as far as a Kol girl becoming pregnant, due, presumably, to this association. They did not watch over the welfare of the group and began to check it only after it had gone as far as that. To the minds of the complainants the association with the Kumhars should never have been permitted and the rhetorical question is asked, if Kols should not have full intercourse with them, implying that to do so would be to degrade the Kols to the level of the Kumhars. This, of course, would be absurd, but is just what the other *panch* is allowing and so it should be checked. The letter attempts to put a stop to this and gives an example of the way such matters are sometimes handled.

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TOTEMISTIC ELEMENTS IN THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. The phenomenon of totemism is widespread among the Munda tribes of India, and in many cases it still forms a fundamental feature of the social organization particularly in connection with marriage, kinship, and sexual relations. In certain cases, as with the Oraons,[1] there is a definitely intermediate stage, and endogamy is becoming the rule, but the clans among the more primitive tribes are still exogamous. Among some of the latter type, the Korwas and Birhors[2], for example, the totemistic organization is still quite intact; in contrast, the Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa and the Juangs of Keonjhar, both Munda tribes, have at the present day no totemistic organization.[3] Although

1 Roy, S. C., *The Oraons of Chota Nagpur*, p. 324 ff.
2 Roy, S. C., *The Birhors*, Chapter IV.
3 Roy, S. C., *The Kharias*, pp. 145, 146.

li Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

171 614 in the case of the Hill Kharias the clan organization is based on totemistic principles, there is still no exogamy connected with it.[1] Roy remarks about another section of the Hill Kharias: "There is strong evidence to indicate that this section of the tribe has probably lost its clan organization as they have lost their aboriginal language, unless it may be that they never evolved any such organization."[2] Other Kharias, notably the Hill Kharias of Singhbhum and Manbhum districts have recorded of them that "the division into exogamous clans is recognized for the purpose of marriage."[3]

An examination of the clan organization of the Mundas, which might quite readily be worked out from existing materials, would be an interesting study. From our study of the Kols of Central India it is clear that they, like some of the Munda tribes noted above, have at the present day no totemistic clan organization as the basis of their social organization; exogamy is practically unknown, marriage being regulated within the group and even sub-groups on the basis of genealogical relationships. Fifty years ago Crooke wrote of the Kols of the Southern United Provinces that they have "shed off the elaborate system of totemistic septs which are found among the Mundas of Bengal."[4] On being asked questions dealing with a totem or an emblem of a clan the Kols said that they have clans which they term *gots*. Asked further how these differed from *kurhis* the answer given [564] was that *gots* and *kurhis* are essentially the same. They said that on a tribal basis exogamy is unknown amongst them, and that marriage is always among the same *gots* or *kurhis*. There seems therefore to be no difference at the present time in marriage regulations between members of septs within the clan.

614 564 Some of the Kol *kurhis* which have no totems or clan emblems may be called *gots* in the same sense as are the three *kurhis*: Kurhas, Kathautiyas and Kathariyas, which apparently have as clan emblems the earthen vessel, the wooden bowl and the mattress, respectively.[5] No rites are observed in connection with these totems, either for their multiplication or for their preservation. As far as could be ascertained there are now no taboos in connection with them. In the [784 264 415] cases of those who strictly use one or the other of these dishes the taking of food in the wrong kind of dish is taboo, that is, the Kurha should eat off earthen vessels; yet there are Kurhas who do not observe

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 134, 135 *etc.*
2 *Ibid.*, p. 122.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 125.
4 Crooke, W., *Tribes and Castes of the Northwest Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. III, Art. Kol.
5 See pages 36, 37, 44.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

this in a strict way, and when certain situations arise they may eat from a brass dish without offence. The same applies in the case of the Kathautiyas.

Russell and Hiralal[1] are supposed to have found traces of totemism among the Kols, but as previously noted it is clear that they have made a mistake in the case of the Kathariyas. They list certain "totemistic septs" in Mandla. They note that the Bargaiyan sept is really named after the village of Bargaon, that the sept connects its name with the *bar* or banyan tree (*Ficus indica*) and is said to revere it. This tree, however, is generally revered by Kols. Some of the sept's uses and taboos of the tree are mentioned in their article. The second sept, the Kathautia has the explanation that we have given, except it is reported that the sept reveres the tiger and keeps Bagheshwar Deo,[2] the tiger god, on a little platform on the veranda. We found no trace of this among the Kathautiyas interviewed. The third is the Kathariya sept, of which we have already spoken and where we believe the authors have gone astray. Fourthly, "The name of the Mudia or Mudrundia sept is said to mean shaven head, but they apparently revere the white *kumhra* or gourd, perhaps because it has some relation to the shaven head. They give the white gourd to a woman on the third day after she has borne a child, and her family do not eat this vegetable for three years."[3] Fifthly, the Kumraya sept is said to revere the brown *kumhra*. Again, the Bhuwar sept is named after *bhu* or *bhumi* and its members must never sleep on cots, always on the ground. We found no trace of this belief. "Other septs are Nathunia, a nose ring; Karpatia, a kind of grass; and Binjhwar, from a tribe of that name."[4] Russell and Hiralal do not state whether there are exogamic tendencies in connection with these septs or not. Totemism however, is a very complex phenomenon and differs widely even among the Mundas. There is apparently no single criterion: "Exogamy may or may not be coupled with the other features, totemistic taboos may be dissociated from a totemistic name for the group practising them; descent from the totem may or may not be postulated; and so forth."[5] Lowie goes on to discuss Goldenweiser's and Fraser's theories of totemism and finds them inadequate to explain the totemistic phenomena. "Only confusion can result from envisaging what is disparate under a single head."[6] The

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol, III, p. 510, 511.
2 See index : Tiger.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 510.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 511.
5 Lowie, R. H., *Primitive Society*, p. 140.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 145.

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

vary considerably, but the accompanying text figure 18, shows a form that was found by us. 846 [537]

During the time the woman is confined to the house the man goes about his work just the same and no trace of the couvade has been found. If it can be managed, on the twelfth day after birth there is further rejoicing with a family feast. [574]

CHILDHOOD RITES. *Naming the Child.* Amongst the Kols of Central India the giving of the name, so important in some primitive cultures, does not seem to hold a place of any great significance. Of course certain things as noted below are done, but no trace was found of any magical rites used in the selection of names, such as Roy describes in the case of the Oraons and the Kharias.[1] There is no fixed time within which the name must be given. Under more primitive conditions we have found that often no ceremony whatsoever was in use, and when a name was given the Brahmin priest was not called in. While there is no set time for the giving of the name it is generally preferred that it be given from ten to fifteen days after birth. The proposed name may be discussed in the family before hand, and actually given to the child by one of its parents or near relatives, a friend, or even a stranger. In the latter instance we were told on two occasions that should a *chaudhari* Chamar happen to pass through the village at a propitious time he might be requested to name the child. At the time of the bestowal of the name, in the case where the family selects the name itself, the child is taken into the arms of the person giving the name who then formally announces it to those present. Until such a name is given the child is called by a pet name, *dadu* for the boy and *butu* for the girl. In Kotmi, near the borders of Rewa State, the village priest, the Kol *panda*, gives the child a name and receives four pice for this act. At the same time, being the official vaccinator, he vaccinates the child against small pox: it is a crude vaccination, but in this way the Government is able to provide some protection from the disease. 553 [564] [751]

Among the more Hinduized Kols use is made of the Brahmin priest. He is called upon to select the child's name and does this from a list of names in his possession which are considered auspicious for children born at certain seasons. He is paid from one to four annas for this performance. It is common to find names derived from days of the week, and Monday and Tuesday, *Somvara* and *Mangalbara* are said to be the best; the child is never named after Saturday. Again, the name of the month may be used, as in the case of the name Phagu, 553 177 [793] 553.

1 Roy, S. C., *Oraon Religion and Customs*, p. 129; *The Kharias*, pp. 209 ff.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

[P.69]

Chapter V

THE MARRIAGE CYCLE

Marriage is a necessity to Kols and the ceremonies that accompany it are the most complicated of all their social rites. It is of the utmost importance that Kols be married and the bachelor or spinster life is altogether foreign to the Kol way of thinking. 581 589

Endogamy with Hypergamy. During the discussion of the Kol *kurkis* the principle of endogamy was established. It was shown, however, that along with endogamy hypergamy is occasionally practised, possibly due to Hindu and Rajput influences. Several instances of this were observed and one case may be mentioned in which there were two sons in a Rautiya family; one had married a Rautiya wife and the other a Thakuriya. Their respective children considered themselves full and equal Rautiyas. But Rautiyas never give their daughters to Thakuriyas. Hypergamy is probably a relic of the time when there was a good deal of mixing between men of higher castes and women of lower castes. In the case of the Kols this study indicates that hypergamy is practised only in connection with the *kurki* that is considered immediately below it in the social ladder. This social ladder, however, is not absolutely fixed, though about Jubbulpore Rautiyas are generally considered the highest *kurki*; yet it was sometimes stated that the Binj *kurki* practise hypergamy with the Rautiyas and would take their daughters, but not give theirs to them. Russell and Hiralal, in discussing hypergamy in the Central Provinces say: "This custom prevails largely among the higher castes of the Panjab, as the Rajput and Khatris, and among the Brahmins of Bengal."[1] The stories in connection with the origin of the Thakuriyas may imply a form of hypergamy, except that the offspring do not rise to the level of the father. 564 582

Traces of Exogamy. While the principle of endogamy is strictly enforced and the thought of any other union is repugnant, there are nevertheless certain traces of an exogamous tendency which is not a *kurki* or *goi* exogamy but rather village exogamy. It is not the rule for a Kol to arrange a marriage with someone in his own village. This is occasionally done, but as the last resort, after failing to find a mate in another village. Roy notes the same tendency toward village exogamy among the Kharias. He remarks: "The probable reason 582

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 28.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

595 an economic asset. If there should be two or more women in the family, one of whom is married and the other just kept, their respective rights were said to depend solely upon the will of the husband and it was not admitted that any of them had greater rights than the others. Their children have equal rights and no discrimination is made between them. [428] If the wife is barren and the other has sons, the property upon his death reverts to the sons. If both "wives" have sons it is divided at death according to the husband's expressed wish or by a decision of the *panchayat*.

[831] We did not find much sexual laxity among the Kols; but the Hindus assert, whether from knowledge or prejudice it is hard to say, that the sexual relations of the Kols are very loose. A Malguzar reported that in some villages under his jurisdiction where Kols happened to be in the majority he knew of at least one case of a Kol woman having several [837] husbands, a sort of polyandry, and that the men frequently exchanged wives.

586 623 692 DIVORCE. It is not uncommon for a man and his wife to separate but as long as this separation is not sanctioned by the *panchayat* it involves certain disabilities. The *panchayat* never takes the initiative nor does it advise or suggest divorce—rather the opposite—but it has to act if the separation is to have official sanction. The usual grounds for separation and divorce are:

1. Sterility of the wife
2. Sexual unchastity of either
3. Quarrelsomeness in the home
4. Laziness resulting in the neglect of household duties and support of the family
5. Any tendencies such as thievery, frequent absences from home without apparent reasons, and the like

There are numerous variations in the process of securing this separation. It is usually considered more difficult for a man to get rid of his wife than it is for the wife to get rid of her husband. The matter is first officially brought to the attention of the local *panchayat* by either of the aggrieved parties. In some cases the local *panch* has full authority, but in Maihar State we found that if, after investigation, the local *panch* thought there was a good case for divorce, the matter [184 564] is referred to an intercaste *panchayat*; one which should include members from seven different groups or castes. This seems to be an exception, and when asked what castes could act together they mentioned only three: Kol, Kurmi and Chamar.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

4h2 DIVISION OF LABOUR. There is a distinct division of labour amongst the Kols and the following table, used as a basis for investigation, gives the main results. There has not always been complete agreement, but the following summary pretty well represents the views of the Kols on the matter of labour. The exceptions are noted. The following list of occupations includes practically everything that the village Kol is called upon to do.

Occupation.	*How Divided.*
Gathering wood in the forests.	Both men and women.
Gathering *biri* leaves.	Do.
Carrying wood to the bazaar.	Do.
Carrying grass to the bazaar.	Do.
Cutting grass in the fields.	Do.
[233] Grazing cattle.	Usually men, women only under certain conditions as when the grazing is close to home.
Ploughing fields.	Men only.
Sowing of seed.	Men only.
Transplanting rice.	Both men and women.
Winnowing wheat.	Do.
Repairs to the house :	
Walls and floors.	Do.
Roofs.	Do.
Plastering floors and walls.	Men only.
	Women only, except that a bachelor may do so to his own quarters.
Grinding wheat.	Women and bachelors.
Buying in the bazaar.	Both may purchase, but the women are restricted.
Cooking in the home.	Women and bachelors.
Bathing children.	Women only.
Mending clothes,	Both, but men always mend men's clothes and women women's clothes.
Cleaning up cattle sheds.	Usually women, but men may do so occasionally.
[564] Collecting eggs.	Women, though some Rautiyas state that they do not touch eggs.
Feeding the children.	Women.
Breaking rocks for the roads.	Both men and women.
Day labourers in the fields.	Do.

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4. In some things the men take the leading part, but the women assist in certain occupations, such as: 462

Grazing cattle.
Purchasing supplies in the bazaar.
Watching crops by day.
Cutting wood for the house.
Construction of houses.
Milking of cows and goats.

5. There are some things that are absolutely taboo to the women such as:

Ploughing.
Getting up on a roof.

6. There is one thing that a man should never do: wash the clothes of a woman. [296]

7. There are a number of things neither a man nor a woman does, some of them have been listed and others have not. These tasks are the particular work of certain castes and occupational groups, and Kols leave such work to them. [564]

Among Kols working in industrial centres the wife and husband often work side by side at the same task, such as digging stone, carrying baskets of stone for the lime kiln, and the like.

GUESTS AND HOSPITALITY. On account of the smallness of Kol houses it is not possible for Kols to do much in the way of entertaining. Nevertheless hospitality is extended as far as is possible under the circumstances. A visiting relative is given a place within the family. On his arrival, he is met by the men of the house and greeted. The salutation takes the form of an embrace. The two put the arms around each other and touch first the left shoulder to the left shoulder, then the right to right. The next thing is to touch each others' knees, first the left, then the right, both hands generally being used. The final part is the grasping of the right hand.[1] Provision is made for the relative so that he or she may sleep comfortably during the night. This often entails hardship on the members of the family particularly if the house is crowded. A relative takes food with the other members of the family: men sitting with men and women with women. If the visitor should be a friend but not a relative, it is usual for him to be given a place to sleep, but he does not take his food with the family. He is expected to cook his own food, although the materials for the same are supplied free to him by the family with whom he is stopping. 574 602 [576] [264] [252]

1 See plate XII.

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787 [151] sible to pain, and very painful things may be resorted to without any apparent sensation on his part. Some drug may be partly responsible.

There are cerain tests as to whether a person is truly possessed of the *devi* or not. The following are tests Kols have given.

1. A trembling and jerking of the head and limbs.
2. A state of semi-consciousness. He is clearly not himself, but is able to recognise the people who stand about him and ask him questions.
3. The uttering of the magic words: "ochha, ochha." No meanings could be given for this, but it represents a gasping effort.[1]
4. The uttering of other unintelligible words and phrases.

787 785 5. The ability to walk and jump about on spiked sandals without evidence of pain or discomfort.

6. The lashing of the back with the iron lash until it is raw and bleeding.

7. The passing of the point of the trident through the tongue, cheek, or the skin of the neck and leaving it there from a half hour to two hours. During this time the person may move about, and if it is not through his tongue, may answer questions. This is said to be the supreme [757] test. It is claimed that no sores or bleeding follow it and that it is treated by a mixture of ashes, *ghi*, *pan* and lime juice.

787 It is not held that all of these must concur to give adequate proof; and though often they do not go as far as really wounding themselves, the *bawa* is still regarded as a genuine one.

If two men, for instance, should be possessed at the same time by different *devis*, there may be a contest between those particular *devis* should there be any enmity between them. One may try to defeat the other, and the result is a fight between the men.

Kol women are also said to have the *bawa*, but with them this phenomenon is not nearly so common. It is taken as a sign that the deity is pleased with them.

During the time of the *bawa*, people come seeking guidance and help for their troubles: childless women ask what offerings they should give in order that they may bear children; domestic troubles are told and their solution asked for; illness, lack of work and the like, are all brought before the *devi*, and an answer is forthcoming.

787 171 564 Following is a description of a *bawa* seen by the author. It was a Domar *bawa*, not a Kol one, but Indians familiar with Kol *bawas* said that it was not essentially different. The *bawa* was performed under abnormal circumstances: it was not done before a regular shrine, but one improvised against a telephone pole.

The assistant first cleared a spot of grass making a bare area about two feet wide and three feet long. The one who was to perform then came and poured a little water over the spot, rubbed the earth

1 It may be connected with the name *OJHA* or "medicine man".

A [i.e., a low caste Hindu.-Analyst]

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and smoothed it. This was to take the place of plastering. When this was done, he set in place the articles that were brought along for the ceremony. These included a cocoanut, some flowers, *sendur* powder, *ghi*, camphor balls, an iron ring, sweet oil, some bits of iron, a bottle of country liquor, and two limes. Some burning charcoal was brought from a house nearby. There was a group who had come to sing and play the drums. A song or two was sung while preparations were being made.

The *sendur* was mixed with *ghi* to form a paste, some of which was daubed on the pole immediately back of the cleared spot, also some on the *panda's* forehead and upper arms. On the left arm three daubs, and on the right arm two. A sort of trident was also marked on the telephone pole with the *sendur*. Next the coals were handed him, and were placed within the iron ring. The lamp with the sweet oil was lit, after a cotton wick had been rolled for it by hand. The bottle of country liquor was opened and some poured out to the left of the cocoanut which was leaning against the base of the pole. As he poured the *panda* muttered charms, held the lamp above the cocoanut for a few moments, then set it down before it. Next a few cloves were taken and after having been put to his lips, stuck into the ground about him and into his loin cloth. From the vessel containing *ghi* he took a few drops and let them fall on the glowing charcoal, which flamed up and gave off the incense of burning butter. He uttered the word "Ramchandra", and some other incantations, and more *ghi* was dropped on the fire. One of the limes was then cut with a knife into two pieces and placed to the right and the left of the burning *ghi* in the iron ring. The singing now began in real earnest. The camphor balls were next set afire and put on top of the cut limes. Everything was apparently ready for the coming of the *devi*. He turned around to the group and hailed them as if taking farewell, and with folded hands began to meditate, looking steadily upward at the electric light which had been fastened to the pole, for it was about eight p.m. As he did this, his assistant, who happened to be his brother, began angrily to address someone in the unseen world and looked toward the south as he called. Before long one could notice that the man's arms were beginning to quiver. The music became more strident and the man began to shake his head while his whole body swayed from side to side. He drew in his abdomen and stuck out his chest repeatedly. He picked up a rope lash and lashed his own back. Then the assistant with a loud tone and a hard look invoked Kali, saying, "*Kali Calcuttawali hajir ho*": 'Kali of Calcutta be here'! Then it seemed that the spirit came upon him for the first

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time, as he began to jerk with great spasms, jumped up in a frenzy, screamed and shouted. The assistant then showed his brother a rupee and challenged Kali to show herself in her best possible form and then put the rupee beside the fire. This brought on a very wild period of shouting and falling to the earth and of beating himself with the lash. His tense face was that of another, and his eyes were glassy. He kept his tongue stuck out in imitation of Kali whose representations always show her with outstretched tongue. He also held out his hands as Kali does in her pictures. His writhings and tremblings now ceased, and he asked in a harsh voice if anyone wanted to ask advice of her, for he had become Kalimai. One of the Hindu women living on the compound came forward and asked why she had no children. She crawled up to him on hands and feet, and had her forehead on the ground. The goddess answered through the man possessed, that she had no issue because her mind was polluted, and charged her to worship her (Kali) or worship Bhagawan. He then took some ashes from the coals of the fire and throwing them upon her announced that she would have an issue within ten years.

A man came forward and asked the best method of worship. The answer was very indefinite: if he worshipped, he would be prosperous. Then he became very excited and swaying and looking fiercely at the questioner said in indignation: "You have come to test me, but haven't I done many things for you? Tell me the truth, haven't I done much for you?" The man became so excited that he was hissing and beating himself upon the ground, first with one shoulder then the other, and then in an up-right position, beating his arms. Another came and asked a question, but no attention was paid to him. A woman whose husband had disappeared came humbly crawling towards him. She wanted to know whether her husband was still living and if so where he was. The *devi* answered between broken breaths saying that the husband had left the woman at her own request and that she was thus to blame. The solution given was to "worship me daily for a month and a quarter, give your offerings daily at my temple in the Saddar for a month and a quarter, and for this period abstain from the use of salt in your food. Have your heart clean and you will get your desire." Another woman said that one of her relatives had gone to his country and had not yet returned. Would he come back? The reply was, "He is all right, but his heart has turned away from you. He will return in a few days."

The woman who had asked about her childlessness now asked what kind of an offering she should give to Kali. A wave of frenzy came upon the fellow and he said, "Offer an animal in my name; feed the

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panchayat." He hissed some more, went through a great shaking and again added, "Don't you see my truth? You have called me to test my power, but I am showing you my glory." Turning to the spectators, he demanded if there was anyone else who had a request to make. The assistant then poured out before him on the ground some more of the country liquor. This greatly excited the man who screamed, jumped up and down, and after putting his mouth to the ground several times licked up the liquor in the madness of emotion. Then taking a bit of the lime he squeezed some out on the fire and said, "May all your desires be fulfilled."

The fellow then took up his knife and began to cut the end of the little finger on his right hand. We did not see any blood actually come out. There was more frenzy and hisses, and Kali left him; other goddesses and gods possessed him in turn, and he shouted out the name of the deities as they were coming upon him. He went through certain motions supposed to be characteristic of the deity but these could not always be detected as the scene shifted rapidly. The following deities came upon him in turn; Marhidevi, Hinlag devi, Phulmatimai, Bindabasini, Bhawani, Chausatt (64) Joginis (of Marble Rocks Hill), Sitalamai, Uddan Begni (goddess of Aeroplanes), Asmanidevi (which caused a further writhing), then a long burst of cruel laughter, and the name Manidas which, they said, was the god of the cemetery. More liquor was poured out, and fury again possessed the man. He was covered with perspiration. But the mood immediately changed, and he began to cry and sob like a child. Then rushing backwards and forwards and throwing himself writhing on the ground, he sat up with a triumphant look on his face, beat his arms with his fists and announced that he was Bir Pehalvan, the god of wrestling. Then last of all he changed back into Kali, and soon again made out that he was cutting his little finger, and held it over the fire as if to squeeze out some drops of blood—an offering to the bloody goddess. The musicians did not play all through the performance, but at this point they again took up their drumming and singing and shouted *"Kalimai ki jai"*—Hail to Kali. The chief character then took a bit of ashes and gave to his assistant, who sprinkled them over the singers, at which they shouted "Hail, Marhai Mata, Hail." The man now threw himself on his back and writhed again in seeming agony; then jumped up and forward to the elements; took up the iron ring, poured out *ghi* on the fire, which had been kept going by the assistant; poured some more liquor on the ground, removed the outer covering of the cocoanut and put the pieces in the fire; took the cocoanut in his hands and held it up in worship; then

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broke it upon a stone and separated the kernel, putting a bit of it in the fire. The juice of the remaining lime was squeezed out on the ground, the oil of the lamp was poured out, the knife was stuck into the ground and water sprinkled about seven times as he muttered incantations. Then with a shout he fell back exhausted, where he lay for several minutes before opening his eyes in a sort of stupefied manner. The pieces of cocoanut were then distributed to the singers and players. The man sat up, seemed normal again, and showed his hands, as if to say that the wounds were healed and no ill had befallen him. The group left and went to their homes. We heard later that they got thoroughly intoxicated and had a small pig for a feast. The whole performance lasted approximately an hour.

GODDESS SEPTS. Kols do not worship all the goddesses mentioned in the previous lists, but usually limit themselves to certain of them; they have a certain number which they call their own deities. Usually the son should worship the same number as the father worshipped, but not necessarily the same ones. By way of illustration, the following shows the reaction of five Kols who happened to be talking about this:

1. Three Deities: Shardamai, Kalimai and Barmatimai.
2. Three: Kalki, Phulmati and Sharda.
3. Said he too had three and named those in 2.
4. Four: Phonamuki, Athabhuji, Lorhadhar, Asmani.
5. Seemed much puzzled and said he worshipped several but no particular number.

TREES AND RELIGION. In another place more will be said about Kol beliefs concerning trees.[1] The chief trees thought of in connection with deities are noted here:

The *Nim* (*Melia azadirachta*) is the best tree for the Kol and is considered to be the home of Khermai, although other *devis* also like it.

The *Pipal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*) and the banyan tree (*Ficus indica*) are the home of Baran *deo* and other rather dangerous spirits. At Sehora a giant *danawa* lives in a *pipal* tree.

The Tamarind tree (*Tamarindus indicus*) is a favourite home of the *churel*, a particularly vicious spirit, but is also the abode of Chithra *devi*.

The Banyan tree also shelters Basdeo and Sannyasi.

1. See Chapter IX.

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orthodox Hindus each passage of the sun from one constellation to another is marked by some kind of ceremony. The change after the sun has reached its most northern course coincides with the coming of the welcome monsoon rains, which turn the dry and dusty lands into a paradise of green. Russell and Hiralal also note that the Kurmis, an agricultural caste in the Central Provinces, keep this festival in the month of *Srawan* (July-August).[1]

Hariyari. This has been named to us by Kols and is probably very similar to, if not identical with, the *Hareli* festival. Crooke has a few words by way of information: "Bhuiyas, Kols, and Binds of the United Provinces also worship during the rainy season Haryari Devi, 'Mother of Greenery', by employing their Baiga priest to sacrifice chickens and to pour a libation of wine on the field after harvest or before the sowing season."[2]

Holi. This festival is usually called *Phag* by Kols as it occurs in the month of *Phagun* (February-March). It is essentially a spring festival, largely entered into and carried on by the lower castes. It marks the coming of spring, and the sympathetic magic in the ceremony tends to promote the fertility of crops and animals.

Kols who live in or near cities and towns observe this more than those isolated in villages. In Rewa a group of Kols claimed that they would not particularly observe it, but Kols near Jubbulpore said that those who remained behind in Rewa observed it much more fully than they who had left and come away.

Preparations for the *Phag* festival were watched in a Kol village close to Jubbulpore, and our enquiries were freely answered. The first part of the festival centres around a great bonfire which is arranged much as Hindu castes construct it. This should always be built outside the village and eastwards, towards the rising sun. If one Kol village cannot get up enough enthusiasm for a good celebration, they may join with another village in their preparations, or several villages may join together. The wood for the fire may be taken by force or stolen from its owners, and the owners are not supposed to make any protest.

The place chosen for the fire is first cleared and levelled. In the centre a hole is dug, into which the pole, around which the wood is to be stacked, will be inserted. Two pice, some *haldi* and a *supari* nut are dropped into the hole. The central pole should be of *andi* wood, the castor oil stalk (*Palma christi*), and around this the wood, brush and other inflammable materials are laid. The larger the pile the more

1 Russell and Hiralal, *Tribes and Castes*, Vol. IV. p. 84.
2 Crooke, W., *Op. Cit.*, p. 265.

h:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

has been ploughing ever since. It was really Bhagawan in the form of a Brahmin that deceived the foolish Kol, and Kols have never ridden horseback since that time.

DEPRIVED OF BREAD. In olden days Kols had plenty to eat, but they did not know how to eat their food properly. Instead of breaking their *chapatis* with their hands, they used axes upon them. This displeased Bhagawan, and he sent poverty amongst them, and Kols nowadays get their daily bread only after very hard labour.

There is another tradition linking the horse and bread together. The story goes as before that, when the Kols were first upon the earth, they had plenty to satisfy all their needs. They had horses to ride upon, plenty of wheat and *ghi* and fruits. They lived happily, acquired much wealth, and became the most powerful people in all the regions about. But they could not ride upon horses properly. They conceived the plan of shortening their horses' legs with axes, so that they would not have so much difficulty in mounting and would also not have to fall so far. They also began to chop up their *chapatis* with axes. When Bhagawan came to know of all this, he was very angry and took away the axes and all the horses. He gave the Kols sickles and commanded that thereafter they should never ride a horse and that they should work as labourers in reaping the harvests of others.

THE LOSS OF THE SACRED THREAD. In the beginning, the Kols were the highest of all peoples and wore the sacred thread, which is today the right of the twice-born castes only. But once for some reason, Bhagawan called the people together and put the Kols last, thus angering them greatly for they felt humiliated in the presence of all. In their anger and to show their disregard for the sacred thread, they tore them off and scattered them in all directions. These became attached to trees and bushes and at once began to grow and became *Amarbel* (*Cuscuta reflexa*), a greenish yellow parasitic plant now found in many parts of Central India. Any bit of it will attach itself to a tree or bush and grow easily. "Now," say the Kols, "we would challenge any Brahmin to do the same. Let them throw away their sacred threads. There was life in ours but theirs are dead."

HOW THE KOLS BECAME SEVEN FAMILIES. At first there was but one family of Kols, the descendants of Shivari. This family besought the favour of Bhagawan in prayers which were unselfish and which asked not for wealth or food. Bhagawan therefore blessed

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539 m3 564 them and their number increased so greatly, above all other families on earth, so that there was no room for them to live together. So Bhagawan gave them permission to separate into seven groups, and thus the seven *kurhis* of the Kols arose. The groups named in this story are: (1) Thakuriya, (2) Mawasi, (3) Binjhwar, (4) Khairwar, (5) Khangar, (6) Pawai and (7) Kurha.

539 m3 How the Kols came to be Popular. Sehai and Kuhai were two sisters who were very rich but lacked things to eat, being thus forced to gather the fruits of the forest in which they lived. One day Rama and Lakshman passed by their house. They were hungry and sought food from the sisters. The sisters had nothing but fruits to offer them, and Rama received these gladly, but Lakshman threw them away in anger. The brothers then departed on their quest, but not without the curse of the sisters upon Lakshman for his rudeness. In the course of a battle, while attempting to rescue Sita, Lakshman, was struck by an arrow and fell unconscious and no one was able to restore him. Then Rama remembered the curses of the sisters and sent a messenger to bring some of the rejected fruit. This was brought and forced into his mouth; as it touched his lips, he at once became well and regained the full use of his senses. Then Sehai (really Shivari) asked for a boon and Rama replied: "I am very much pleased with you; go and flourish in the world and increase the population of the world with many children." From that time the Kols have had large families and are found in every part of India. This is not unlike a story recorded earlier.[1]

Heroes among the Kols. Apart from the Kol woman Shivari, the Kols do not seem to have heroes or heroines in their legends. It is said that there is not even one hero among the Kols and the following story explains why that is and also explains the origin of their musical abilities.

Once Bhagawan called people together out of every community in order to bless them and give them a boon. Groups from everywhere set off to the place of *darshana* and among them were the Kols. Other groups reached the place where the boons were to be granted, but the Kols never arrived. It so happened that as they were proceeding on their way, the Kols heard the cry of the birds known as the *Sath Bhai* or Seven Sisters (*Crateropus canorus*). (The sarcasm of the story is to be found in the fact that these birds have a very unmusical cry, one which grates upon the ear). Hearing the cry *pay, pay, pay*

[825]

1 See pages 9-10.

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872 EDUCATION AND LITERACY. There does not seem to be any active interest in education on the part of the Kols. In most of the centres visited no Kol children were being sent to school. Of course many of the places were far from the nearest village school. In Barela, however, there is a good school, but of the 125 children of school age among the Kols only two were in this school. We asked the master about these children and he said they were below the average. There are six or seven Kols in Barela who have at one time been in school but not [212] all of them have retained their literacy. Of this number one had read up to the seventh standard and we tried to get from him in writing some facts concerning the Kols, but his responses were very poor and did not give us the insight that we had hoped to get from him. In some places Kols say that they would send their children to school if there were such facilities at hand; but where they are actually at hand they do not take an active interest, and say they cannot afford to spend money on education. There are always one or two families, however, who seem to be interested and who make some attempt to educate their children in the primary schools. In Katni the Church Missionary Society has a school which is situated near one of the sections where Kols live and to which quite a number of Kols have gone at one time or another. There were, however, only sixteen on the list that had done credible work in the past eight years, three of whom had read through the fourth standard. In such schools there is no caste distinction, though in a few other places Kols told us that the schools made distinctions and that their children were not allowed to study with the caste children.

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The Census reports reveal that as a group the Kols are among the most illiterate of the many castes and tribes. For India as a whole the report[1] shows that out of 122,695 Kols aged seven years and over there were only 301 literate persons: 290 men and 11 women. Seven of the men were reported as being literate in English. In the Central Provinces and Berar with 48,500 Hindu Kols and 10,813 Tribal Kols there were but 216 and 6 literates respectively. The proportion in the United Provinces is still less as out of 63,382 Kols only 79 were literate. The United Provinces Census Report[2] puts the Kols 89th in the order of literacy in a list of 95 tribes and castes. It is worked out in that Report that they are 0.24% literate as far as males are concerned and 0.01% for the females. In the Central India Agency out of 151,718 Kols there were 88 males and 50 females literate and two were literate in English. Outside of Rewa State it appears that

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1 *Census of India*, 1931, I : 1, p. 450.
2 *Ibid.* XVIII : 2, literacy tables.

l;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

178 291 [126] presence of men they usually cover their heads with their *saris*. It was difficult to get, for the anthropometric data, photographs of Kol women with their heads uncovered.

177 178 793 585 [558] SOCIAL CHANGES. In the social realm there are certain important changes which may be noted and yet there is a persistence in the older ways. This is characteristic of much of Indian life. Even fifty years ago the Brahmin priest was called for some Kol weddings and some other groups did not call him. The same holds true today, though now-a-days to call the *pandit* is the "right" thing to do, and those who do not call him, but manage things themselves, are looked down upon. Outside of the marriage cycle the Brahmin priest is nowhere else absolutely essential to Kol life, though occasional use is made of him at the name-giving ceremony and the throwing of ashes into the rivers Ganges or Nerbudda.

178 564 [177] It appears that there is a definite hardening of the social divisions within the Kol tribe. The Kols are apparently forming a miniature caste system within the tribe somewhat modelled after Hindu caste. These groups are endogamous and interdining is forbidden and in general they take the form of true castes[1]. If a Kol is asked about his race, he will probably not answer Kol, but give the subcaste: Rautiya, Thakuriya or another. Kols are very particular about their sub-divisions, and while there is some evidence available to show a desire to break down these distinctions, the main interest seems to be in their preservation. The system seems to be hardening and more firmly entrenched than ever. In discussing this, one Kol gathering said that they were trying to discourage this group consciousness and they were encouraging (1) intermarriage and (2) interdining. They felt that this was the proper order. As yet, however, to their knowledge, no actual cases of intermarriage or interdining had occurred.

177 HINDUIZATION. The process of Hinduization is essentially a social phenomenon. Considerable attention has been paid to Hindu influence in passing and the matter may be summed up here. Throughout the centuries and up till the present time there has been a persistent movement of primitive tribes into Hinduism. They have not come by conversion but by absorption. The term Hindu is very elastic and it often happens that a member of one of these primitive races does not know whether he is a Hindu or not. There has been no

1 Blunt, in *The Caste System of Northern India*, states that there are three characteristics of a caste: Heredity, Endogamy, and restrictions on Commensality. (pp. 1-3).

1;Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

000 [177 564]

aboriginal tribe. They are becoming assimilated into the caste system of the Hindus, and like others before them, may one day have to take their place as a caste or a series of castes, and would most likely find their place among the groups considered unclean. Their society as a whole will then be integrated into Hinduism and their future will be bound up with the Hindu system.

In the years to come the Kols will probably maintain many things found in their present culture, for example, their love for music and the *dholak*. Without the long evenings of song, life would take on an added drabness for them. And yet, their Hindu neighbours often bring pressure upon them to stop their drumming.

It would hardly do to set apart a definite area for the Kols. There is no place where they predominate in a manner to make this possible. Their nature is a roving one, they would not take kindly to a reservation, and one would not keep them together nor preserve their tribal life any more than many of the reservations for American Indians have done.

The Kols suffer from the exploiter[1]. More might be done for them in cooperative schemes, but there again the area is too large for any single scheme embracing the tribe as a whole. Schemes ought to be framed that would, in selected areas, take in other tribal groups as well.

Possibly much could be done for the tribe if their illiteracy could be reduced. The type of education provided for village India is not suitable for the villager, to say nothing of the Kol tribe. Their lack of education leaves them at the mercy of exploiters, and even though they are in the majority, still they have no influence in local bodies. Formal education is not enough. Along with the three Rs. which have their real value, something on the lines of modern handicraft project should be introduced, but should be radically modified to meet the needs of the Kols. Tribal interests and skills should be worked into any curriculum set up. Such schemes should not be left in the hands of local bodies, who, far too often, have no genuine concern for the aboriginal, but should be the direct concern of the Provincial Government.

Much of the Indian Penal Code cannot be applied to primitive tribes. Where lawyers cannot be consulted the groups get along with a minimum of trouble to the authorities. The tribal life is regulated

1 Verrier Elwin, in "The Aboriginals" (Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs No. 14) says "If you want to help the aboriginal, do not try to reform him; reform the lawyer, the doctor, the schoolmaster, the official, the merchant, with whom he has to deal. Until that is done it is far better to leave the aboriginals alone. p. 31.

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Phāgun	..	February-March.
Chaita	..	March-April.
Baishākha	..	April-May.
Jeṭh	..	May-June.

III. LOVE AND INTRIGUE.

1. A *dādrā* from Katni. The *loṭā* is a brass vessel used for carrying liquids. A cord is frequently tied about its neck and it is lowered into a well in order to bring up water. See note on 6, 7 below.

2. A *kaṭṭhī* from Imalhapur. This is a teasing song and in this case the *kaṭṭhī* is addressed to a young maid of beauty. The *pānwāllā* prepares and sells the *pān*, a mixture of betel nut, lime and tobacco wrapped in Piper leaves (*Piper betel*).

3. A *dādrā* from Katni.

4. A *dādrā* sung at the wedding season: from Jubbulpore. The suspicious husband is assured that his wife's smiles and blushes are innocent, and are directed to no other man. The first line should be repeated four times.

5. A *dādār* from Katni. The *dhīmar* is a member of the fisherman caste, but is used in another sense.

6, 7. These are both *dādrās* from Katni. The symbolism of these two songs is perhaps obvious. Sexual matters are referred to by the men as entering a house, as a lotus on a pond or in terms of getting water from the well.

8. A *rāī* from Katni.

9. A *biyā*, or wedding song; sung at the time of the circumambulation of the sacred post. From Salavara. The terms of relationship are noted in the text of the translation. The intrigue is rather complicated and it is evident that the mother-in-law, who ought to be on her guard, is a simpleton and does not realize what is going on. The symbolism is apparent.

IV. SONGS OF SOCIAL EVENTS.

1. This song is called *chhanhar* as it is sung on the sixth night after the birth of a child. The woman complains that the in-laws care nothing for her birth-pangs. Given by women near Katni.

2. A *badhwā*, a song sung by women when a male child is born. The song is kept up for long periods and is repeated again and again. It is essentially a song of congratulation. Ayodhya was the place of Ram's birth. This song given by women near Katni.

3. Another *chhanhar* or sixth-night song from Katni. A Kajali forest (dense—black as *kajal*) is one inhabited by elephants. The swing has a sexual symbolism.

4. A *dādrā* from Imalhapur. The *Pūrabiyās* are dwellers in the eastern parts. There is a Purbiya subdivision of Chamars. (Briggs, *op. cit.* page 24). The *Baghels* are men of Baghelkhand.

5. A *rāī* from Katni.

6. A marriage *dādrā* from Barela and sung as a teasing song. *Maraud* or *marhwā*: the wedding booth.

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Appendix IV.

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A Glossary of Tribes and Castes mentioned in this book and found in the Central Provinces. Based on Russell and Hiralal.

Ahīr	The professional caste of herdsmen.
Bahna	The occupational caste of cotton cleaners.
Baigā	There is a Baigā tribe, once said to be of Dravidian origin, although Munda affinities would seem to class them with the latter. Their priests are believed to possess great power.
Bani	See Baniā.
Baniā	The occupational caste of bankers, money lenders and grocers.
Banjāra	A caste of carriers and drivers of pack-bullocks.
Barai	The caste of growers and sellers of betel-vine leaf.
Barhai	The occupational caste of carpenters.
Bāri	A caste generally working as household servants and makers of leaf-plates.
Basor	The occupational caste of bamboo workers.
Bhangi	Low caste sweepers. Synonym for Mehtar.
Bhāriā	See Bhūiyā.
Bhīl	An important primitive Mūṇḍā tribe of Khandesh, Central India and Rajputana.
Bhīlālā	A caste of mixed origin, probably from alliances between Rājpūts and Bhīls.
Bhoi	A primitive tribe.
Bhūiyā	An important Mūṇḍā tribe confined largely to Chota Nagpur.
Bhūmiā	Same as Bhūiyā.
Binjhwār	A caste supposedly formed from a Dravidian tribe, though more likely a branch of the Mūṇḍās.
Brāhmin	The highest of the four castes. In general usage a Brāhmin and a priest are synonymous.
Chamār	The occupational caste of leather workers.
Chaṇḍāla	An outcast, supposedly originating as a child of a female Brāhmin and a male Śūdra.
Chatrī	A common synonym for a Rājput.
Dahāit	A mixed caste of village watchmen.
Darzi	The occupational caste of tailors.
Dhīmar	The caste of fishermen and *palkī*-bearers.
Dhobī	The professional caste of washermen.
Dom	An aboriginal tribe of north India now reduced to servitude and classed as untouchable.
Domar	A caste related to the Doms and Basors.
Gānda	A servile caste of village drudges, watchmen, and musicians.
Gaoli	A name of the Ahīr or herdsmen caste.
Ghāsiā	A low caste, possibly of Dravidian origin, which cuts grass, tends horses and acts as musicians.
Goṇḍ	Probably the most important of the primitive forest tribes of India and supposedly of Dravidian origin. There are about 2,500,000 in Central Provinces.

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Gowāri	The herdsmen of the Maratha country corresponding to the Ahirs.
Halbā	A caste of cultivators and farm servants.
Jain	A religious group.
Julāha	A group of Mohammedan weavers.
Kāchhi	A cultivating caste. Growers of vegetables and irrigated crops requiring intensive cultivation.
Kalār	An occupational caste of distillers and sellers of fermented liquor.
Karchuli	A clan of Rājpūts; formerly a ruling race in the Jubbulpore country.
Kawar	A primitive tribe, possibly of Mūṇḍā origin, found in the Chhattisgarh area.
Kāyasth	The caste of writers and village accountants.
Kewat	Fishermen, boatmen, gram-parchers and cultivators.
Khairā	A Mūṇḍā tribe found in north-east Central Provinces.
Khangār	A low caste of village watchmen and field labourers.
Khati	A caste of blacksmiths.
Khond	A Dravidian tribe.
Kori	A weaving caste.
Korku	A Mūṇḍā tribe of south-west Central Provinces. To a great extent this tribe has maintained its Mūṇḍā type of language.
Koshti	Weavers of silk and fine cotton cloth.
Kotwār	Caste of village watchmen.
Kshatriya	The second of the four traditional castes.
Kumbā	See Kumhār.
Kumhār	The occupational caste of potters.
Kunbi	The main agricultural caste in the Maratha country.
Kurmi	The representative cultivating caste of central and northern India.
Lodhi	An important agricultural caste.
Lohār	The occupational caste of blacksmiths and iron-workers.
Mahār	The low caste of menials, labourers and village watchmen of the Maratha country.
Māli	The functional caste of vegetable and flower gardeners.
Mārāthā	The military caste of southern India.
Mariās	The Marīā Gonds; a branch of the great Gond race found principally in Bastar State.
Mawāri	A subcaste of Dahāit.
Mehra	A synonym for Mahār.
Mūṇḍā	A tribe in Bihar. A general term for primitive people of Mon-Khmer affinities.
Nāi	The occupational caste of barbers.
Nishāda	A primitive people mentioned in Hindu scripture.
Orāons	A Mūṇḍā tribe of Chota Nagpur with members in Central Provinces.
Pauka	A Dravidian caste of weavers and labourers.
Pansāri	Growers and sellers of the *pān* leaf. A synonym for Barai.
Pardhān	A branch of the Gond tribe which acts as priests and minstrels.
Parwār	A subcaste of Baniā.
Pāthān	A Mohammedan money-lender, usually from Afghanistan.
Rāj Gonds	The landholding subdivision of the Gond tribe.

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Rājpūt	Representatives of the Kshatriya or warrior caste.
Satnāmi	A religious movement among the Chamārs of the Central Provinces resulting in a new group.
Savar	A primitive tribe of Mūṇḍā origin.
Sonār	The occupational caste of goldsmiths and silversmiths.
S'ūdra	The fourth of the four traditional castes.
Sunār	See Sonār.
Sutār	Synonym for Barhai.
Teli	The occupational caste of oil-pressers and sellers.
Thākur	A common title for the Rājpūt.
Vaisha	The third of the four traditional castes. Merchants.

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Appendix VII

ANTHROPOMETRIC

114 In April 1938, by an arrangement with Dr. B. S. Guha, of the department of Anthropology of the Zoological Survey of India, a trained worker, Dr. B. K. Chatterji, came to Jubbulpore and during the course of some two weeks we made the usual measurements on 150 Kols : 127 men and 23 women. [564] In the tables following the men are divided into two groups depending whether they belonged to the Rautiya or the Thakuriya subdivision.

The statistical results which follow were kindly compiled by Dr. C. Chandra Sekar, head of the Statistical Laboratory, Indian Statistical Institute. Dr. Chatterji is also working out a detailed analysis which at the date of printing is not ready for publication and inclusion here. However, it is hoped that this will appear separately later on and will give a full analysis of the measurements together with his observations on racial likenesses and affinities to other groups.

No detailed comparison with other groups is made here, nor are any theories of racial relationship advanced in respect to these measurements. They are recorded for the use of any who may find them helpful in making wider generalizations in relation to other anthropological data.

141 In addition to the tables the following general observations are taken
142 from our notes :

1. *Skin Colour, (Von Luschan Scale).*

(1) Men :

Colour No.	No.
23	2
24	5
25	31
26	56
27	8
28	13
29	12
	127

(2) Women :

Colour No.	No.
21	2
22	1
23	2
24	2
25	7
26	7
27	—
28	1
29	1
	23

2. *Eye Colour*

(1) Men :

Black	48
Dark Brown	47
Medium Brown	32
	127

(2) Women :

Black	15
Dark Brown	3
Medium Brown	5
	23

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TABLE I.

Statistical analysis of Anthropometric Measurements of 95 Adult Male Rautiyas

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Measurement in mm.	Mean	Probable error of mean ±	Standard deviation ±	Probable error of standard deviation ±	Coefficient of Variation	Probable error of variation ±
1. Stature	1599.66	5.38	77.72	3.80	4.9	.24
2. Height up to Tragion	1477.25	3.68	53.77	2.60	3.6	.18
3. Auricular height						
4. Max. head length	182.20	.58	8.45	.41	4.6	.23
5. Max. head breadth	137.35	.29	4.23	.21	3.1	.15
6. Min. Frontal breadth	101.75	.27	3.96	.19	3.9	.19
7. Max. Bizygomatic breadth	131.13	.29	4.16	.20	3.3	.16
8. Bigonial breadth	96.81	.33	4.83	.24	4.9	.24
9. Interorbital breadth	29.76	.22	3.30	.16	11.1	.54
10. Orbito nasal breadth	101.33	.41	5.93	.29	5.9	.29
11. Orbito nasal arc	117.13	.41	5.95	.29	5.1	.25
12. Nasal length	47.29	.25	3.66	.18	7.7	.38
13. Nasal breadth	37.00	.20	2.85	.14	7.7	.38
14. Nasal height or depth	16.96	.13	1.77	.09	10.4	.51
15. Upper facial length	57.45	.30	4.40	.23	7.7	.38
16. Total facial length	113.38	.53	7.66	.37	6.8	.33
17. Hor. circ. of the head	526.08	.94	13.63	.67	2.6	.13
18. Sagittal arc	238.22	.86	12.70	.62	5.3	.19
19. Transverse arc	318.02	.82	11.81	.60	3.7	.18

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TABLE II

Statistical Analysis of Anthropometric Measurements of 23 adult female Rautiyas

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Measurement in mm.	Mean	Probable error of mean ±	Standard deviation	Probable error of standard deviation ±	Coefficient of variation	Probable error of variation ±
1. Stature	1490.80	6.78	46.21	4.79	3.2	.31
2. Height up to Tragion	1362.30	7.06	50.10	4.96	3.7	.37
3. Auricular Ht.						
4. Max head length	176.85	.92	6.56	.65	3.8	.38
5. Max head breadth	132.39	1.01	7.17	.71	5.4	.54
6. Minimum frontal breadth	96.57	.46	3.24	.32	3.3	.33
7. Max. Bizygomatic breadth	134.74	.72	5.12	.51	4.1	.41
8. Bigonial breadth	96.22	1.18	8.41	.84	8.7	.87
9. Interorbital breadth	20.35	.23	1.63	.16	8.6	.86
10. Orbito nasal breadth	99.04	.50	3.53	.36	3.6	.36
11. Orbito nasal arc	114.70	.43	3.03	.30	2.6	.26
12. Nasal length	44.30	.55	3.90	.39	8.8	.88
13. Nasal breadth	34.00	.25	1.79	.18	5.3	.53
14. Nasal height or depth	18.39	.23	1.63	.16	10.2	1.02
15. Upper facial length	55.04	.72	5.15	.51	9.4	.93
16. Total facial length	106.61	.82	5.82	.58	5.5	.55
17. Hor. circ. of the head	517.70	1.93	13.74	1.37	2.7	.27
18. Sagittal arc	317.26	1.50	10.45	1.06	3.3	.33
19. Transverse arc	308.13	1.73	12.31	1.22	4.0	.40

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TABLE III

Statistical Analysis of Anthropometric Measurements of thirty-three adult male Thakuriyas

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Measurement in mm.	Mean	Probable error of mean ±	Standard deviation	Probable error of standard deviation ±	Coefficient of Variation	Probable error of Variation ±
1. Stature	1613.21	5.26	44.83	3.72	2.8	.23
2. Height up to Tragion	1483.72	5.48	46.00	3.88	3.1	.26
3. Auricular Ht.						
4. Max. head length	183.55	.59	5.08	.42	2.7	.22
5. Max. head breadth	139.87	.64	5.47	.45	3.9	.32
6. Minimum frontal breadth	103.85	.43	3.63	.30	3.5	.29
7. Max. Bizygomatic breadth	131.55	.43	3.63	.30	2.8	.23
8. Bigonial breadth	99.88	.51	4.33	.36	4.4	.37
9. Interorbital breadth	20.53	.27	2.29	.19	7.7	.64
10. Orbito nasal breadth	102.21	.41	3.50	.29	3.4	.28
11. Orbito nasal arc	118.86	.42	3.55	.29	3.0	.25
12. Nasal length	48.70	.38	3.21	.27	6.5	.54
13. Nasal breadth	37.73	.24	2.02	.17	5.4	.45
14. Nasal height or depth	17.45	.27	2.32	.19	13.3	1.10
15. Upper facial length	80.81	.68	4.91	.34	6.7	.56
16. Total facial length	115.33	.70	5.99	.50	5.28	.43
17. Hor. circ of the head	535.91	1.53	12.99	1.08	2.5	.21
18. Saggital arc	350.91	1.38	15.48	.97	3.1	.26
19. Transverse arc	292.86	1.38	11.48	.95	3.6	.30

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TABLE IV

INDICES

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Index	Mean	Probable error of mean ±	Standard deviation	Probable error of standard deviation ±	Coefficient of Variation	Probable error of Variation ±
1. Ninety-five adult Rautiya Males—						
Cephalic	75.55	.21	4.45	.22	5.90	.29
Nasal	75.78	.64	9.29	.45	11.79	.58
Facial	88.53	.42	6.14	.30	7.10	.35
2. Twenty-three Rautiya Females—						
Cephalic	76.44	.81	4.34	.43	5.68	.56
Nasal	77.33	1.15	7.97	.79	10.31	1.03
Facial	84.79	.78	5.58	.55	6.58	.65
3. Thirty-three adult Thakuriya Males—						
Cephalic	76.13	.38	3.23	.27	4.23	.35
Nasal	77.83	.79	6.69	.56	8.60	.71
Facial	87.73	.58	4.94	.41	5.63	.47